1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Husband and wife usually are from the same village, but there are many exceptions. Marriages of persons from different villages have increased in the past decade. This probably should be ascribed to the greater mobility of the people and to the acceptance of free choice in marriage. It is common, for example, for a Hatsuda boy to marry a Ginoza village girl. It is also common for a boy in Minatogawa to marry a girl from the nearby agricultural villages of Hmashire, Asato, or Gushichan. This apparently is a distinct change from earlier practices.

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If the family registers are accurate, the great majority of the men living in a village were born there; it is the wives who are more likely to be the newcomers. In the social structure of village life, it is the men who provide the continuity; the women are more likely to be strangers. The husband may point to his father and grandfather who live or have lived in the village; fewer wives can do the same.

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The Marriage Ceremony

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In my experience, no two marriage ceremonies in Okinawa are alike. Marriages take place at any time of the year, but in all three villages, they were more commonly held in the late fall or in winter. The reasons given are that the heavy clothing and elaborate headdress of the bride are not suited to the hot and humid summer and that these can be more comfortably worn in the cool winter months. The marriage feast with its fish cakes, meats, vegetables, and a variety of other perishable foods can be more easily prepared and kept in winter. In the agricultural villages, the ceremony usually takes place after the day's work; in the winter the reception may start by 5 and the main ceremonies are over by 8 in the evening.

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Description of a ceremony at Hatsuda. The party began about 5 in the afternoon. Because of the large number of guests, the primary school was used for the ceremony. At the head of the first room, the grandfather and grandmother of the groom, the groom, his father, and the go-between were seated. Other relatives of the groom found places around the sides. Later the father of the bride, who arrived shortly before his daughter, joined this group. The go-between, a young man of 24, was a friend of the couple, and his wife was a member of the groom's family.

In the other rooms, opening into one another, about 300 guests, mostly men, were assembled. During the reception and before the beginning of the ceremony, guests representing their families entered the first room to congratulate the father, the groom, and the grandparents. In this period of congratulation involving the father, the groom, and the guest, there was an exchange of sips of sake from a common cup. As in other instances of congratulation, some speeches were long, some short, some well prepared, others extemporaneous.

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585 During his speech, the guest remained in the most polite kneeling
576 position, resting his weight on the heels with the toes pointed downward toward the floor. His head was bowed during the talk. The father and the groom acknowledged the compliments by nodding their heads and then made their responses.

When these preliminaries were almost over, an uproar followed the announcement that the bride was arriving. The lights of a vehicle could be seen from a distance. It turned out to be a truck. In former days, the bride came in greater style: she either walked preceded by young boys bearing lanterns or rode in a palanquin (kago),
[493] or in a specially decorated horse cart.

All Okinawan brides, from the time they enter the house of the groom until they leave shortly after the completion of the ceremony, have an expression of indescribable gloom. The bride's face is set. Her eyes are downcast. She takes no notice of the guests, and responds silently to the acts which convention demands. She never smiles. This is a very serious occasion and any show of lightheartedness is considered in poor taste. The groom is not so wooden as he awaits his bride and goes through the ceremony.

585 The bride is dressed in a Japanese costume. She has a wig, usually
[292] rented for the occasion, the traditional Japanese headdress with masses
[177] of stiff lacquered hair. It is heavy and bulky and the need of keeping it on straight may account for some of the bride's immobility. She also has a bright colored Japanese style kimono with sash (obi) which may be her own, her mother's, or grandmother's. The bride's face is
[302] heavily powdered with white powder and this makes her face look like a mask. Her lips, reddened slightly, accentuate the unnatural whiteness of the face. The groom is simply dressed in a black silk kimono.

The ceremony of san-san-kudo (literally, 3, 3, 9 times) conducted by the go-between then began. It is so called because both of the principals drink 3 times from each of three different cups which are made in progressively smaller sizes so that they fit into one another. There are variations, both in the way in which the 9 sips are taken and in the cups used. Since the war, the special sets of three cups have disappeared from many homes, and three small sake cups may be used. In this ceremony, the go-between served the first cup to the groom who took 3 sips, the go-between then refilled for the bride who took 3 sips. The other two cups were presented to each principal in the same way. This ceremony was very short, lasting only as long as it takes to sip the drinks in the proper order. When the marriage ceremony (kekkonshiki) was over, the bride and the groom arose and went to the front part of the room to be presented to the guests.

585 The bride retained her sad immobility. This is all the more
576 remarkable to see when one knows the bride in daily life, vivacious and jolly and anything but impassive. The groom allowed himself a little more naturalness. The go-between spoke to the guests briefly about the couple. He told where the bride and groom were born, the

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date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke.

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These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence.

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The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone.

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Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included.

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A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts.

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

585 following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this the day time for relatives and perhaps a few close friends. The couple go to the bride's house where there is food and sake. This means the husband has really and finally accepted the daughter of the house and is thanking her parents for her.

But these events also are not observed uniformly. On the second day, there may be a gathering of friends and relatives, to be followed on the next day by visits of the bride, groom, and the groom's friends and relatives to the bride's home to give thanks for receiving the girl in marriage.

585 269 The food served at weddings depends on the economic circumstances of the family. But at today's prices food which would be considered acceptable costs at least ¥100 per person including sake. This feast had many extras and consisted of a buckwheat (soba) noodle soup, slices of beef and pork, eggs, tenpura, a fritter without a fish or meat filling, sweet potatoes, a vegetable salad of raw radish, green onion and sea weed shoots, bean curd, a boiled fish paste, rice cakes, and a sweet round fritter (sato tenpura) very much resembling the doughnut in taste, various cakes, and a sponge cake (kasutera).

585 [823] The marriage ceremony is performed only when the tide is coming in, for the same reasons that were noted with the birthday celebration of the child. Marriage is a time of bounty and fulfillment, not of diminution and withdrawal.

585 114 There was a "very ancient" Okinawan custom, cited by Spencer on the authority of Shimabuku Genkichi, the student of Okinawan history, of the bride remaining in the home of her parents even after marriage, and the husband coming to her home to spend the nights with her. This Spencer ascribed to the high economic value of the woman and the custom at the time of Spencer's writing (1931) was still said to exist in parts of the northern district (Kunigami) of Okinawa.[3] The temporary return of the wife to her home after her marriage, while the husband went to a public brothel was also an old custom.[4] [548]

585 184 The preceding description of a wedding ceremony in Matsuda may be compared with one seen in Oushichan village close to Hanashiro. (Rural weddings are not so easy to see as one might think. There may be only one or two in a year in a village; when the parties are from different villages, the number in any one village is also reduced). In this

3 Spencer, as cited, 96. In my studies at Matsuda (which is in the Kunigami district) and in visits to Oku on the extreme northern part of the island, I did not encounter any indication of the survival of this custom. But unfortunately I was unaware of their previous existence and there may well be survivals in some of the villages.

4 Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 97.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

ceremony the set of three cups (sakasuki) was used. The go-between, a man and a close friend of the groom, poured sake into the top cup. The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups. 585 184

In this ceremony, after the san-san-kudo, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the sake drinking, the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part of the ceremony. [576] [537] [301]

A custom followed in Hinatogawa illustrates a variation in the preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (hanamuko) and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried long lanterns (chōchin) with candles to light the way for the bride, as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns, which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed participating because they were given small amounts of money and food. [857] [416] [177]

In the Hinatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshhold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Hinatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about ¥5-6000 to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from ¥20-40. The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles. [431]

There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the
727 gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
435 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
178 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been [586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are [562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with [177] ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magasines since the occupation.

584 she objects violently, the matter may be dropped. If the go-betweens
[851] succeed in making arrangements, they become the special friends and patrons of the young couple, officiating at the marriage ceremony and attending the rituals during the first week after the birth of all the couple's children.

The first engagement event is a small family affair at the bride's house, attended by a few close relatives of the couple, who ceremonially eat rice from the same bowl. The food is contributed by the groom's family. From this time on the groom may spend evenings and nights at
[836] the bride's house, where he is permitted to have sexual intercourse
[583] with the girl. For a man whose girl lives in the same village, the day is now divided between work for his own household and helping the girl's family in the field. The groom receives supper from the girl's family, who encourage him to stay for the night. The couple is never seen together in public, although the girl also helps occasionally at her groom's house.

The second engagement party is held some later time, also at the girl's house. All the relatives of the bride whom she wishes to introduce to the groom and his family are invited. The groom also invites his relatives and friends. Food and drink are supplied by the groom. Since this may be quite a burden, the bride urges him not to hurry in planning for this party. At this engagement ceremony, relatives and friends congratulate the male members of the bride's family and some of the close female relatives, the mother and sometimes an aunt, or the grand-
[537] mother. Short speeches are exchanged. The girl's father, in response to well-wishing, may point out that the girl is inexperienced and that she needs guidance and education from the groom's family. The groom also toasts his father-in-law, tells him that he will do his best, and thanks him and his wife for their permission to marry.

● 585 The actual marriage ceremony may be postponed until much later.
[584] One reason for the long engagement period is to see whether the girl becomes pregnant, or as one person said, "To see if the seeds match."
[843] There are also economic considerations. The ceremony takes place at the groom's house. The go-between, his wife, and a few friends go to the bride's home to accompany her and her relatives and friends to the
[178] groom's house. The elaborateness of the celebration depends on the wealth of the groom's family, but since the war, all families have economized in this as well as in other ceremonies. The cost of the wedding is carried by the groom, but it is to some extent offset by small money gifts which guests contribute. The groom gives the bride's family a certain amount of money—in one case about 2000 yen (approximately $17.00) or two thirds of a well-to-do Taira family's monthly

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she married out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura, 1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place, the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken describes as "undescribable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talking amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence. Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations. The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect. After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the marriage is consumated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of household members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to

584 If the girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
791 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (eesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the participants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary importance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage
[583] there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
[177] welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

[184] This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
[583] people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
565 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at
[548] home, took them to a jurinuyaa where for three days and nights they were entertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

a young man would have had no previous sexual experience and that it was felt that it was necessary for him to be instructed by an experienced woman before he had relations with his bride. The third explanation was given by a country woman in her fifties, of gentry descent. She told how her husband had gone to the wedding of a city relative and had been taken afterwards to the juri-nuyaa. She did not know if her husband had been treated to a juri or not but was sure that the groom must have had one. Her explanation of the practice was that it was mainly a display of the position of the family and its ability to provide entertainment. Probably there is a bit of truth in all three explanations. The practice does undoubtedly reenforce the male's right to sexual freedom. The second explanation seems a little weak, especially in view of the reported former practice of the city gentry of combining a sexual initiation with the boy's coming-of-age ceremony, but the explanation may be that given for the earlier trip to the brothel and it may also be the "explanation" of the practice conventionally given, conventional explanations not necessarily revealing real motives. The last explanation, that the practice is mainly a display, probably strikes at the most important motive, the use of entertainment to demonstrate status.

Secondary Marriage Formerly wealthier men sometimes took juri as mistresses. In the village of Yamada before the war, the richest man, or perhaps the only man designated as "rich man" had his own juri. She was a kooi-juri, a "bought juri", that is, he had bought her from the house she had been indentured to. She stayed in Naha, but occasionally came to Yamada. The informant who told of this, a woman in her thirties, expressed the opinion that any man who became rich would naturally soon want his own juri.

At the present time it seems to be a fairly widespread practice for a man who has enough means to have a second wife (yuubee, in Japanese 'higō', "number two"). Sometimes this is done openly, sometimes secretly. It may be a more common practice today than formerly because of the present skewed sex ratio. Some information was obtained about two such men, one a fisherman and the other a doctor, so-called.

The fisherman was an Itoman man; his first wife had no children so he took as a second wife a woman whose family lived in a town to the north. The second wife has borne three children. The "main wife" (in Japanese 'honsai') stays at Itoman in the house of the man's father, and there she is raising the husband's first son, the child of the second wife. But most of the time the husband is at one of the northern villages with his second wife, her other children, and two boys of junior high school age whom he bought on one of the outer islands to help him in his fishing. Unfortunately I did not learn how the family was registered in the 'koseki'.

The "doctor" was a man from a village south of Naha, who had an office at his home and also a practice in Naha. His methods consisted of heat treatments and steam baths. He spent about half the time with his "number two", whom he had set up in a room in Naha. His first wife was presumably unaware of the existence of the second wife, even though he once took the second wife to his home along with a patient, ostensibly as a friend of the patient.

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class. 621 554

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty." 593 178 [423] [428] 61 178

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations. 593 178

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents. 584 178 [585]

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the 582 178